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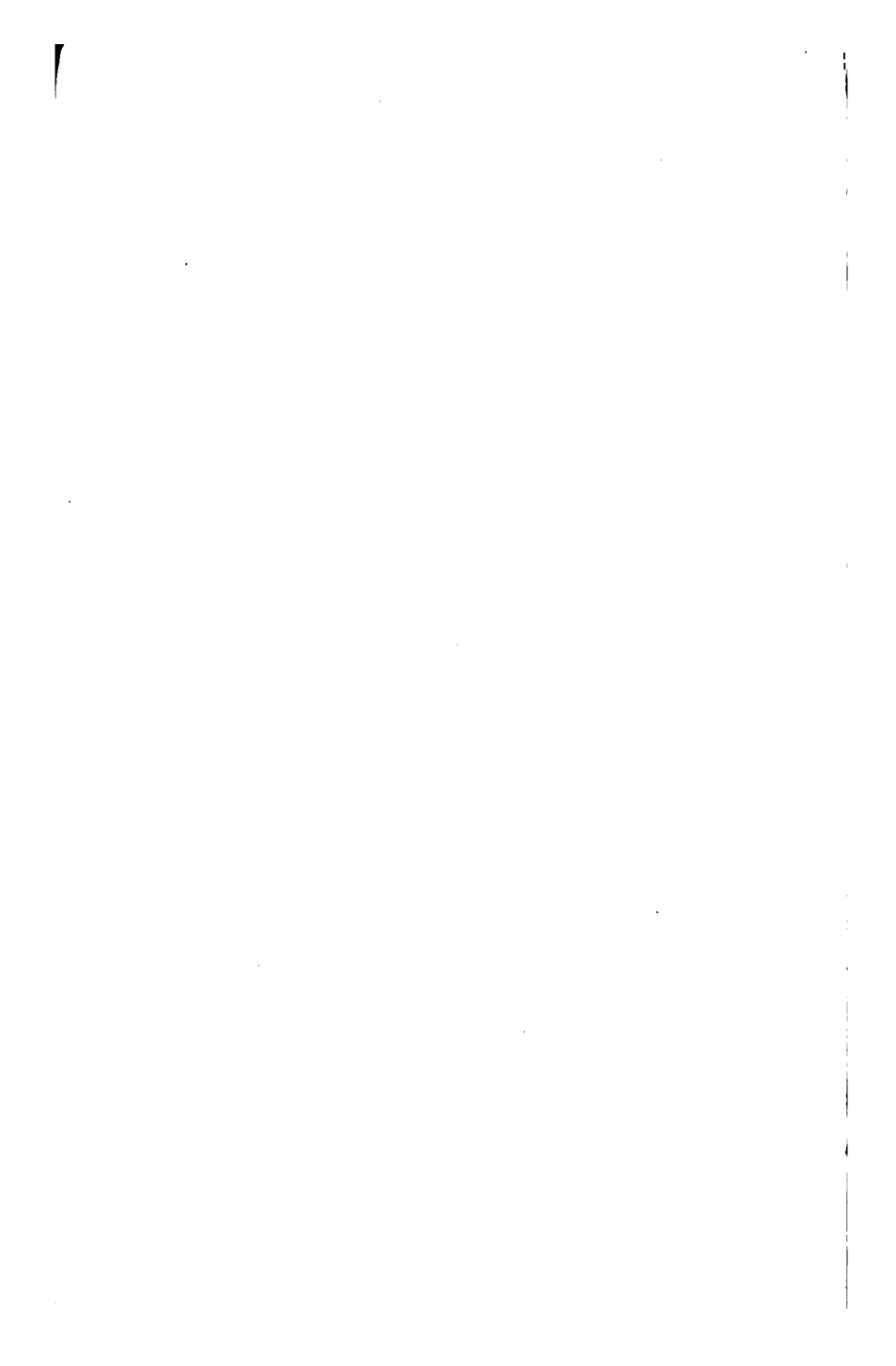
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**A GUIDE TO
FRANCISCAN STUDIES**



HELPS FOR STUDENTS OF HISTORY. No. 23

**EDITED BY C. JOHNSON, M.A., H. W. V. TEMPERLEY, M.A., AND
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A GUIDE TO FRANCISCAN STUDIES

BY

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**SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY**

1920

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A GUIDE TO FRANCISCAN STUDIES

I.—LIVES OF ST. FRANCIS

It is difficult for a modern to enter into the thoughts and feelings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Anyone who reads about St. Francis without having studied the age and country in which he lived is certain to misunderstand a good deal of what he reads; he would undoubtedly gain much from such reading, and might by degrees build up round the central object of his study the knowledge necessary to understand the general environment; but knowledge so acquired is apt to be deficient, one-sided, and full of gaps, and it is safer for a student to start from a general acquaintance with the European history of the period before embarking on any special medieval study.

A student equipped with this general knowledge, who was attracted by St. Francis (1182–1226), might begin by reading one of the numerous Lives

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which have been published recently—either Sabatier's famous *Vie de S. François d'Assise* (1st edition, 1894), which should be read in the original French, or Father Cuthbert's sympathetic *Life of St. Francis of Assisi* (Longmans, 1912), which has the advantage of being based on later researches. Gebhart's *L'Italie mystique* (Paris, 1890), though often inaccurate in details, contains very suggestive chapters on a phase of thought and feeling characteristic of the thirteenth century and of the early Franciscan movement. The present writer was led to begin a long course of Franciscan study by reading Brewer's preface to *Monumenta Franciscana*, I. (Rolls Series)—an essay which is more or less out of date now, but still retains inspiring qualities.

St. Francis was not altogether an exceptional phenomenon, and previous movements of an analogous character may be studied in E. S. Davison's *Some Forerunners of St. Francis of Assisi* (Columbia University, 1907), a thesis capable of expansion.

The starting-point of all recent investigations in the history of St. Francis is found in Paul Sabatier's brilliant "Étude critique des Sources" prefixed to his *Vie de S. François d'Assise* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1894) and in his subsequent edition of the *Speculum Perfectionis* (1898). Of the enormous literature to

which Sabatier's researches have given rise it will suffice at present to mention three writings: the present writer's "Sources of the History of St. Francis" in *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xvii., 648; *Die Quellen zur Geschichte des hl. Franz von Assisi*, by Walter Goetz (Gotha, 1904), the ablest and most detailed study of primary sources; and Father Paschal Robinson's *Short Introduction to Franciscan Literature* (New York, 1907), which has a wider scope and has packed an enormous amount of valuable information into a very small space.

The first thing in studying St. Francis is to study his own writings. Though some works attributed to St. Francis, such as the *Collationes Monasticæ*, are merely compilations from later sources, there remain a considerable number which are well authenticated and which leave no doubt as to his ruling ideas. Two editions of the genuine (and some doubtful) works appeared in 1904, one by H. Boehmer in *Analekten zur Geschichte des Franciscus von Assisi* (Tübingen and Leipzig), the other by the Fathers of Quaracchi, *Opuscula S. P. Francisci* (Quaracchi);¹ the latter contains only the Latin writings and excludes the Italian *Canticum Fratris Solis* or *Laudes Creaturarum*.

¹ See Sabatier's criticism of these editions in *Opuscules de Critique historique*, x.

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A translation of *The Writings of St. Francis of Assisi* by Father Paschal Robinson was published at Philadelphia in 1906. The exact process by which the so-called First Rule acquired its present form is somewhat obscure, and it is certain that some points were included in and others excluded from the final Rule in opposition to the will of St. Francis.

References to St. Francis and his Order written during his lifetime are rare but of peculiar interest. The most important, besides a few papal bulls, are two letters of Jacques de Vitry in 1216 and 1220 and a chapter in his *Historia Orientalis*: these are printed in Golubovich, *Biblioteca-Bibliografica della Terra Santa*, i., 2-10, and elsewhere.

The earliest Life of St. Francis († October 3, 1226) is the First Life of Celano (*I. Cel.*) written in 1228-1229, by order of Gregory IX. The only critical edition of the First and Second Lives by Celano is that of Edouard d'Alençon, which contains also the "Miracula"—*S. Francisci Assisiensis Vita et Miracula additis opusculis liturgicis auctore Fr. Thoma de Celano*, Romæ, 1906. It may be noted that the Harleian MS. (No. 47) of the First Life, which contains a few variants of some importance, has not been adequately collated. The First and Second Lives of Celano have been trans-

lated by Ferrers Howell (Methuen, 1908). Sabatier's theory that *I. Cel.* was a party manifesto issued by the moderate party in the Order against a work—the original of the *Speculum Perfectionis*—published by Leo, the companion of the Saint, in 1227 (Pisan calculus, 1228) is untenable: the authority which led Sabatier to adopt this date is a copyist's error in a late MS.—“MCCXXVIII” for “MCCCXVIII” (*E.H.R.*, xvii., 656). Celano probably had the assistance of the companions of the Saint, as may be seen by comparing his account of the origin of the Stigmata with the letter of Elias announcing the fact of the Stigmata written after the Saint's death (Lempp, *Frère Élie*, 71). Thomas of Celano was probably chosen as biographer on account of his literary ability and learning; he had no close connection with Francis and lacked the gift of incisive characterization. His style is coloured and to some extent his presentation of his hero conventionalized by his knowledge of hagiographical literature.¹ In a work intended for edification it was perhaps natural to slur over the troubles which arose during Francis' absence in the East (1219–1220) and the controversies which embittered his last years.

¹ See Tamassia, *St. Francis of Assisi and his Legend* (Unwin, 1910).

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Most of the leading ideas of St. Francis are faithfully represented in *I. Cel.*—e.g., the imitation of Christ (I., xxx.), the ideal of poverty (I., xiv., xv., xix.), the care of lepers (I., vii.), humble submission to priests (I., xv., xvii., etc.), manual labour (I., xv.). No allusion is made to the prohibition to ask for papal privileges. The influence of Gregory IX. and of Elias makes itself felt.

Several abridgments of *I. Cel.* soon appeared, such as that by Julian of Speyer (re-edited by Van Ortoy in *Anal. Boll.*, xxi.). Some of these are noticeable as being written by persons outside the Order. One was compiled by John of Ceperano, a papal notary: of this only a liturgical résumé (ed. by E. d'Alençon, *Spicilegium Franciscanum*, Rome, 1899) has yet been found. Another, written about 1244, was by a Dominican, Bartholomew of Trent (ed. Lemmens, *Excerpta Celanensia*, Quaracchi, 1901). Another curious production is the Life of St. Francis in Latin hexameters dedicated to Gregory IX. and written by Master Henry of Avranches, who was later "archipoeta" or poet laureate of Henry III. of England. Apart from classical allusions it follows *I. Cel.* closely, but contains some new statements, based perhaps on oral tradition. The poem was published by Cristofani from an Assisi MS. (*Il più antico poema della*

Vita di S. Francesco, Prato, 1882), but there is another thirteenth-century MS. of it, giving the author's name, in the Cambridge University Library (Dd., xi., 78) which has not been collated; this MS. seems to have belonged to St. Albans. As a study in the growth of legends it might be worth while to put together and analyze the accounts of St. Francis which occur in early chronicles, such as those of Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris.

In 1244 the General Minister Crescentius and the General Chapter appealed for further facts to supplement the existing Life, which was considered incomplete and deficient, especially in signs and wonders. The deposition and apostasy of Elias may also have rendered a revision of the official Life desirable. The text of the decree or appeal is not extant; its contents have to be surmised from the following passages: *II. Cel.*, prol.; *II. Cel.*, ii., cap. 167; *Leg. 3 Soc.* (dedicatory letter); Salimbene (ed. Holder-Egger), p. 176; *Chron. XXIV. Gen.* (*Analecta Franciscana*, iii.), p. 262.

The following works come under review as a result of this decree: the *Legenda Trium Sociorum*, Celano's Second Life and *Tractatus de Miraculis*, the *Speculum Perfectionis*, and the *Dialogus de Vitis sanctorum fratrum minorum*.

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The *Dialogus* was written about 1245 by an unnamed friar at the command of Crescentius. Long unknown, it was first edited by Lemmens in 1902 (Rome). It contains nothing of interest about St. Francis and is almost entirely occupied with stories of miracles performed after death by St. Anthony of Padua and some eighteen less known friars.

The *Legenda Trium Sociorum* (of which the most handy edition is that by Faloci-Pulignani, Foligno, 1898)¹ consists of a dedicatory letter from Leo, Angelus, and Rufinus to Crescentius, dated August 11, 1246, and nineteen chapters. The letter promises a collection of notes on the Saint's life derived from personal knowledge and not arranged in chronological order; the legend consists of a chronological history of the earlier life of the Saint derived largely from *I. Cel.* Sabatier's explanation of the contradiction is that the existing legend is a fragment; Van Ortrov and Goetz have subjected the text to a searching criticism, and maintain that it was not written by the Three Companions, but compiled towards the end of the thirteenth century; the dedicatory letter is of doubtful authenticity. The question is not yet finally decided.

¹ Translation by Miss Salter, Temple Classics, 1902. A critical edition has been prepared by Sabatier but not yet printed.

It must be decided, not by general considerations of the primitive flavour of the book and the historical insight of the author or authors, but by detailed textual criticism. What is the true relation between the *Leg. 3 Soc.* and the corresponding passages in *II. Cel.*, Bonaventura, Bernard of Bessa, and the *Anonymus Perusinus*? What is the nature of those parts which are independent of any known authority? The discovery of the supposed original common to the *Anon. Perus.* and certain chapters of the *Leg. 3 Soc.* would throw some light, but the problem could probably be definitely solved from the existing materials by an acute and unprejudiced critic. The following works should be consulted: Van Ortrov, "La Légende de S. Fr. d'Assise dite *Leg. Trium Soc.*," *Anal. Bollandiana*, xix., 119-197; Sabatier, "De l'authenticité de la Légende de S. Fr. dite des trois compagnons," *Rev. Historique*, lxxv.; Goetz, *Quellen*, 91-147. The *Anon. Perus.* is edited by Van Ortrov in *Miscell. Francescana*, ix., 38-48. The "complete" *Leg. 3 Soc.* edited by Marcellino da Civezza and Teofilo Domenichelli (Rome, 1899) from an Italian MS. with the corresponding Latin texts represents an early attempt to reconcile the contradiction between the dedicatory letter and the traditional text and to reconstruct the original Legend by adding to the nineteen chapters of the traditional Legend a number

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of chapters from the *Speculum Perfectionis* and some other sources.

The Second Life of Celano (*II. Cel.*) is in the main a revised version by Celano of the information sent in to Crescentius by the companions of the Saint. The prologue addressed to the General Minister states: "It was the pleasure of . . . the late Chapter-General, and of you, most reverend father . . . to enjoin on our insignificance . . . to write of the deeds and also of the words of our glorious father Francis, since through long experience they were better known to us than to the rest by reason of our constant companionship with him and the mutual intimacy between us." The last chapter is a "prayer of the Saint's Companions to him." "We beseech thee also, O kindest father . . . for this thy son who now and before has devoutly written thy praises. He, together with us, offers and dedicates to thee this little work which he has put together." It is owing to the collaboration of the Companions that the Second Life of Celano supplies materials for a more living picture of St. Francis in his later years than the First Life, in spite of its later date and the inevitable growth of the legendary element.

Is it possible to get behind Celano to the original contributions of the Companions?

II. Cel. is divided into two unequal parts. The

first deals largely with the earlier life of the Saint, supplementing the First Life, and is related to the traditional *Legenda Trium Sociorum*. The second and longest part consists of narratives illustrating different qualities or ideals of the Saint—e.g., poverty, humility, obedience, charity, etc.—and his last illness and death.

The Second Part, *II. Cel.*, ii., contains 167 chapters: 77 of these appear in a more or less different form in 75 of the 124 chapters of the *Speculum Perfectionis*¹ (éd. Sabatier, 1898). Is the *Speculum Perfectionis* the original material (or part of it) supplied by the companions, Leo, Angelo, and Rufino, to Crescentius? The frequent recurrence in the *Speculum Perfectionis* of such phrases as “Nos qui cum ipso fuimus” and “Nobis sociis ejus” shows that we are dealing with a work purporting to emanate from the companions of St. Francis: the context in which these phrases are used generally gives no ground for suspicion, and the freshness of the narratives confirms the impression of first-hand evidence.

The existence of certain writings by Brother Leo is well authenticated at the end of the thirteenth century by trustworthy witnesses (see Sabatier, *Speculum Perfectionis*, Introduction). The most

¹ Translated by Evans (Nutt), Okey (Dent), etc.

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important of these is Ubertino de Casale, who in his controversy with the Community of the Order makes several quotations from these writings. All these are found in the *Speculum Perfectionis*. In 1805 Ubertino mentions certain rolls of Brother Leo, written with his own hand, which he deposited for safe custody in the Monastery of St. Clare, and adds: "Cum multo dolore audiivi illos rotulos fuisse distractos et forsitan perditos, maxime quosdam ex eis." In 1811 he mentions writings of Leo on the intention of St. Francis "in libro qui habetur in armario fratrum de Assisio et in rotulis ejus quos apud me habeo, manu ejusdem fratris Leonis conscriptis." Either, therefore, the rumour about the dispersion of the documents in 1805 was untrue or some at any rate had been recovered in 1811. The Spiritual friars were eager at this time to preserve whatever they could collect of the writings of the Companions of the Saint, and one such collection with the title *Speculum Perfectionis* was made at the Portiuncula in 1818, beginning, "Istud opus compilatum est per modum legendæ ex quibusdam antiquis quæ in diversis locis scripserunt et scribi fecerunt socii beati Francisci." A copy of this collection was edited by Sabatier with the sub-title *Legenda Antiquissima auctore fratre Leone*. A similar but smaller com-

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from the same materials was made or by a friar at Avignon a few years later. One of MSS. of each of these types exists; one is described in Sabatier's *Speculum Perfectionis Tract. de Indulgentia*, and *Opusculum de historia*. Yet another grouping of part of the same materials is found in a MS. at St. Peter's, Rome, under the titles of *Speculum Perfectionis*, *Intentio Regulæ*, and *Verba quæ frater Leo*, edited by Lemmens, *Documenta Franciscana*, I. and II. (Quaracchi, 1901). Examination of the chapters containing narrative common to the *Speculum Perfectionis* and *Intentio Regulæ*, ii. will prove that in some cases the *Speculum Perfectionis* preserves the reading of the original from which *II. Cel.*, ii. is derived (allowing for the inevitable deterioration which results from MSS. being transcribed by successive copyists, especially when the copyists are not merely trained scribes but persons interested in the matter they are transcribing); in other cases the *Speculum Perfectionis* copies from *II. Cel.*, ii.; in other cases the priority is doubtful.

To take one instance: *II. Cel.*, ii., 22, tells how St. Francis one night in his last illness wished for some parsley, and of the difficulty he had in persuading the cook to go and look for it in the dark.

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When the parsley was eventually found, Francis said: "My brethren, obey orders at once, and do not wait for them to be repeated; and do not allege that anything is impossible, for even were I to bid you to do anything beyond your strength, obedience would not be wanting in strength." This chapter is represented in the *Speculum Perfectionis* (Sabatier, cap. 47) merely by an almost verbal reproduction of the words which Celano puts into St. Francis' mouth, divorced from their context. The "complete" *Leg. 3 Soc.* of Marcellino and Teofilo (cap. 26) repeats the *Spec. Perf.* It is evident that the original was not among the materials collected at the Portiuncula in 1318. It was, however, not lost and has recently been discovered in a Phillipps MS. described in *Collectanea Franciscana*, i. (Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies) and in *Opusculs de Critique Hist.*, xviii. The story of the parsley is there given (§ 187) in simpler language than Celano's and far more vividly, and St. Francis' words are: "My brethren, you should not make me say a thing so often" (Fratres mei, non debetis me facere dicere rem totiens). In Lemmens' *Spec. Perf.* (cap. 84) the story is represented by the words (apart from their context): "Dicebat b. Franciscus ad socios, quando sibi statim non obediebant: Fratres mei, non debetis mihi rem

facere": this confirms the conclusion formed on other grounds that the *Spec. Perf.* of Lemmens is a series of extracts based on an earlier text than that of Sabatier's *Spec. Perf.*

The MS. which contains the story of the parsley also contains the originals of eleven more chapters of *II. Cel.*, ii., which are not in the *Spec. Perf.* Probably further discoveries of this kind may be made.

The chapters of the *Spec. Perf.* which are not found in *II. Cel.* seem to fall into three classes: some are later than 1246-1247; the most obvious is that marked by Sabatier "Interpolation" (p. 140), though it occurs in all the MSS. Others may either be earlier than 1246-1247 or more likely may have been rejected by Celano as likely to foment the quarrels in the Order. This applies especially to the groups of chapters corresponding to *Intentio Regulæ* and *Verba quæ scripsit frater Leo*, edited by Lemmens (*Doc. Antiqua Fr.*, i.).

The Second Life of Celano contained too few miracles to give satisfaction, and at the reiterated command of John of Parma, General Minister 1247-1257, Thomas of Celano supplied the defect by his *Tractatus de Miraculis*. This was edited—first by Van Ortrooy, *Anal. Bolland.*, xviii., and then by E. d'Alençon (*op. cit.*). Neither edition

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gives a complete account of the sources of the work nor of its relation to other documents. The treatise has historical value: *e.g.*, it authenticates the visit of Jacqueline de Settesoli to St. Francis on his deathbed narrated in the *Spec. Perf.*, cap. 112. Some of the miracles appear in a more primitive form in the Phillipps MS. above mentioned.

The official Life of St. Francis now consisted of three separate works, *I. Cel.*, *II. Cel.*, and *Miracula*. A revision was needed. But there was a stronger reason for revision than this inconvenience. The Order had moved far from the simplicity of the early years; it had, *e.g.*, become a "student Order"; and the official Life, even with Celano's omissions and modifications, preserved too much of the primitive spirit and gave too much support to the contentions of the zealous upholders of the Rule to suit the new times. Bonaventura, at the request of the General Chapter of 1260, wrote what was meant to be the definitive Legend of St. Francis. It was compiled mainly with a view to pacifying the discords in the Order. It adds little that is new, and its chief historical value lies in its omissions and in its subsequent influence. It formed, for instance, the basis of Giotto's frescoes in the Upper Church at Assisi. The best edition is that by the Fathers of Quaracchi in Vol. VIII. of

Bonaventura's *Opera Omnia*, reprinted separately at Quaracchi, 1898.

In 1266 the General Chapter ordered the destruction of all earlier legends of St. Francis. This decree accounts for the paucity of the MSS. of *II. Cel.* and the difficulty of recovering the writings of Leo and other companions of the Saint.

The *Liber de Laudibus S. Francisci*, by Bernard of Bessa, Bonaventura's secretary (printed in *Anal. Franc.* iii.), contains a statement on the earlier biographies and a few notes of some value on the history of the Order, but can hardly itself be classed among the Lives of St. Francis, the series of which ends with Bonaventura.

To these historical writings should be added the exquisite allegory known as the *Sacrum commercium B. Francisci cum Domina Paupertate*, ed. E. d'Alençon (Rome, Kleinbub, 1900); Italian translation by Minocchi, *Le Mistiche Nozze di S. Francesco e Madonna Povertà* (Florence, 1901); English translations by Montgomery Carmichael, *The Lady Poverty* (Murray, 1902), and by Rawnsley, *The Converse of Francis and his sons with Holy Poverty* (Temple Classics, 1904). This is variously ascribed to John Parenti, first General Minister after St. Francis, or to John of Parma, General Minister 1247-1257, who survived till 1289.

II.—THE EARLY FRIARS

THE earliest legend of St. Anthony of Padua was probably written in or soon after 1232, but like the later legends it contains few facts and gives a very faint impression of St. Anthony as a man. A full account of the sources is printed in Léon de Kerval's *S. Antonii de Padua vitæ duæ* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1904). Of a different and much more human type are the Lives of Bernard, Juniper, Giles, and others, inserted in the fourteenth-century compilation, *Chronica XXIV. Generalium*. The Life of Giles is extant in two versions—a longer one in the *Chron. XXIV. Gen.*, and a shorter one edited by Lemmens (*Doc. Ant. Franc.*, i.) and by W. W. Seton (with a translation) in *Brit. Soc. of Franciscan Studies*, vol. viii. In several MSS. the shorter Life is attributed to Brother Leo, and both the editors maintain that it is nearer to the original than the longer Life. Their arguments are not wholly convincing. It may be said generally that, where two versions exist, there is no *a priori* reason for claiming priority for the shorter ver-

sion: medieval compilers proceed just as much by way of abridgment as by way of expansion, and even sometimes omit miraculous stories for the sake of brevity. Thus even the well-founded principle of hagiographical criticism, which Sabatier uses with such effect, "that the rôle of the miraculous in a document is in inverse ratio to the age of that document," has to be applied with discretion. The Life of Giles should be read in connection with his *Dicta* or *Verba Aurea* (ed. Quaracchi, 1905, translated with full introduction and bibliography by Fr. Paschal Robinson, *The Golden Sayings of the Blessed Brother Giles of Assisi*, Philadelphia, 1907). Most of the Golden Sayings reappear in the *Fioretti*.

The Leonine or "Spiritual" tradition is carried on in the *Fioretti* and their Latin original, *Actus B. Francisci et Sociorum ejus*; a provisional edition of the latter was issued by Sabatier in 1902, and he has a critical edition ready for press. The Latin originals of a few chapters of the *Fioretti* hitherto missing in the *Actus* have been discovered and printed in *Collectanea Franc.* I. (Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies, v.) and *Opusculs de critique hist.*, xviii. It is difficult to appraise the precise historical value of the *Actus*, which appeared in their present form about 1322-1328. Of the

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Fioretti there is no edition answering the requirements of modern historical criticism: a handy edition is that by Passerini (Florence: Sansoni, *n.d.*). There are several English translations—*e.g.*, by Arnold (Temple Classics), Okey (Everyman's Library), etc.

III.—OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

(a) AMONG the records of the Order itself the most important are the General and Provincial Constitutions and the acts of the General and Provincial Chapters. The earliest General Constitutions were issued in the Chapter of 1239; these have not been found, but are contained in a revised and supplemented form in those of 1260. For the next hundred years there is a fairly complete series, but as they are not collected together it will be useful to give references.

General Constitutions, 1260 (Narbonne), printed in *A.L.K.G.*, vi., 87-138.

General Constitutions, 1292 (Paris), alterations noted *ibid.*

General Constitutions, 1316 (Assisi), printed in *A.F.H.*, iv., 269-302, 508-526.

General Constitutions, 1325 (Lyons), printed in *A.F.H.*, iv., 526-536.

General Constitutions, 1331 (Perpignan), printed in *A.F.H.*, ii., 269-292, 412-430, 575-599.

Papal Constitutions, 1336 (Benedict XII.), *Bull. Franc.*, vi., 25-42.

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General Constitutions, 1840 (Assisi), *A.F.H.*, vi., 251-266.

General Constitutions, 1846 (Venice), *A.F.H.*, v., 698-708.

General Constitutions, 1854 (Assisi), *Bull. Franc.*, vi., 689-655.

Papal Constitutions, 1480 (Martin V.), Wadding, *Ann. Min.*, x.

The Observant General Constitutions of 1451 (Barcelona) are printed in *Monumenta Ord. Minorum*, 1506, and in *Monumenta Franciscana* (R.S.), ii., 81.

Some acts of General Chapters between 1260 and 1810 are collected in *A.L.K.G.*, vi., 38-71, *E.H.R.*, xiii., 708-708, *A.F.H.*, iii., 491-504, iv., 62-73, v., 708-709, vii., 676-682.

Provincial Constitutions and statutes of Provincial Chapters are rare; the following have been edited in *A.F.H.*: *France*, thirteenth century—vii., 447-453 (re-edited from *E.H.R.*, xvii., 512-518); 1337—vii., 481-501; *Aquitaine*, thirteenth century—vii., 466-481; *Province of St. Anthony* or *March of Treviso*, thirteenth century—vii., 453-465 (re-edited from *E.H.R.*, xviii., 483-496); *St. Angeli* in Apulia (Observant), 1448, and *Tuscany* (Observant), 1456, 1507, 1518, 1523—viii., 92-105, 146-225; *Cologne*, Chapter at Fulda, 1815

—i., 88-98; *Observant Statutes*, 1474, 1524—vii., 710-738; *Saxony*, 1467 and 1494—iii., 98-114, 280-298.

Among official documents may be classed the lists of provinces, custodies, and houses (edited by Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibl. della Terra Santa*, ii., 214-260); letters of Ministers to the Order or its members—such as that of Elias on the Stigmata (see above), several of Bonaventura (*Opera Omnia*, viii., 468-474), and that of Jerome of Ascoli in 1275 (*A.F.H.*, i., 85); letters of confraternity: the earliest of the latter appear to be those issued by John of Parma in 1254 (*A.F.H.*, iii., 494); and letters patent, such as that issued by John of Parma at the Chapter of Metz in 1254 (*A.F.H.*, iv., 428). Every house kept an obituary; some of these survive, generally in late and sometimes fragmentary form (e.g., the Aberdeen Necrology, *Mon. Franc.*, ii., 128; cf. *Anal. Franc.*, vi., which contains a number of necrologies).¹ The better endowed houses probably had cartularies; part of the Register of the Grey Friars of London, which had no property except its site, was a semi-official cartulary (ed. Kingsford, *Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies*, vi.).

¹ The list of burials in the Register of the Grey Friars of London (ed. Kingsford, *Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies*, vi., and Shepherd in *Archæol. Journal*, lix., pp. 238-237) deserves special mention for its genealogical and historical value.

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None of these various classes of documents, except the lists of provinces, have been systematically collected or catalogued.

(b) The largest and most valuable series of official documents are the papal letters issued in connection with the Order and its members; these have been collected down to 1481 in the eight folio volumes and supplements of the *Bullarium Franciscanum* (ed. Sbaralea and Eubel, 1759–1908); after 1481 the papal letters may be consulted in the later volumes of Wadding's *Annales Minorum*; cf. also for England the volumes of *Calendars of Papal Letters*. Bulls which escaped the editors of the *Bull. Franc.* are continually being found and will necessitate a fresh supplement; some are printed in various vols. of *A.F.H.*; a series relating to the Clares of Toulouse is printed in *La France Franciscaine*, iii. (1914).

Allusion may also be made to episcopal registers, especially those of Franciscan bishops, such as the *Journal des visites pastorales d'Eude Rigaud, archevesq. de Rouen* (ed. Bonnin, Rouen, 1847), and *Regist. Epist. Jo. Peckham* (ed. Martin [R.S.]); and a reference to any modern history of a Franciscan province or house will show how much Franciscan history is based on public records, both central and local.

IV.—CHRONICLES

FRANCISCAN history is complicated by the divergent tendencies in the Order, and by the divisions and schisms to which these tendencies gave rise. A short summary of the principal periods may make things clearer.

(1) *C. 1226-c. 1880.* The "spiritual friars," or "Zelanti," who maintained the Divine inspiration of the Rule and adhered to "the intention of St. Francis," were in conflict with the "community" of the Order, who obtained papal interpretations and relaxations of the Rule. Eventually those of the spiritual friars who were not crushed out or reabsorbed into the Order separated themselves from their Order and the visible Church, and were persecuted as heretics under the name of "Fratricelli."

(2) *C. 1880-1415.* Individual friars and convents, while not asserting the Divine inspiration of the Rule, aimed at a stricter observance of the vow of poverty and a stricter discipline than the body of the Order, now beginning to be known as

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"Conventuals," were willing to accept. The reformers were known as "Observant Friars," or "Friars of the Strict Observance." During this period they formed small groups of convents and struggled for existence.

(8) 1415-1517. The Council of Constance conceded to the Observants a certain measure of independence and a separate organization, under a Vicar-General, and general and provincial chapters, subject to a more or less nominal supremacy of the Minister-General.

(4) 1517. Leo X., after a vain attempt at union, recognized the complete and definitive separation of Observants and Conventuals into two distinct Orders.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries many groups of convents adopted reforms and acquired a temporary and partial independence, but were compelled from time to time (*e.g.*, in 1506, 1517, 1897) to join one or other of the main Orders. Only the "Capuchins," who appealed especially to the poorest classes, succeeded in turning the recognition, which they won in 1528, into complete independence in 1619. But the history of the Capuchin Order falls outside the limits of this book.

General histories of the Order seem to have grown out of lists of General Ministers. The earliest

example of the kind was contained in the Chronicle of Peregrinus of Bologna (c. 1304), which only exists in an abridged form (*Eccleston*, ed. Little, App. II.). From about the same time dates the short *Chron. XIV. vel XV. Generalium* (*Anal. Franc.*, iii., 698-707). This was followed by the *Chron. XXIV. Generalium* (*ibid.*, 1-575), compiled by Arnold of Sarano, Provincial Minister of Aquitaine, and finished in 1379, but containing many early documents, more or less remodelled. The historical parts of Bartholomew of Pisa's curious *De conformitate vite B.P. Francisci ad vitam D. N. Jesu Christi*, approved by the General Chapter in 1399, contain a great deal of material now rendered accessible by the Quaracchi edition (*Anal. Franc.*, iv. and v.). Later General Chronicles are those of Fr. Bernardino of Aquila, *Chronica fratrum minorum Observantie* (ed. Lemmens, Rome, 1902), relating chiefly to Italy, ending incomplete in 1468 and written about 1480; the Observant Friar, Nicholas Glassberger¹ (c. 1508) (*Anal. Franc.*, ii.), which deals largely with Germany and Bohemia; Marianus of Florence (before 1527) (printed in *A.F.H.*); and the great *Annales Minorum* of Wadding and his continuators

¹ Seton has identified the lost *Chronica Major* of Glassberger in a MS. collection at Brünn in Austria; *Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies*, vii., p. 35 *seq.*

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(1st edition, 8 vols., Lyons, 1625-1654; new edition and continuation, 19 vols., Rome, 1731-1745).

Chronicles dealing especially with a single province or group of provinces arose earlier. Germany is perhaps the most fortunate, with the charming chronicle of Jordan of Giano, written about 1262 (ed. Boehmer; Paris: Fischbacher, 1908); the *Chron. Provinciæ Argentinensis, i.e.*, Strasbourg, 1206-1325 (*A.F.H.*, iv., 671-687); and the *Chronica Anonyma (Anal. Franc.*, i., 279-300). England has for the thirteenth century the Chronicle of Thomas of Eccleston (ed. Little; Paris: Fischbacher, 1909), to which should be added the valuable letters of Adam Marsh (*Monumenta Franciscana*, i.). Salimbene's Chronicle is rather of the nature of memoirs, but throws much light on Franciscan history, especially in Italy and France, in the thirteenth century (ed. Holder-Egger, *Mon. Germaniæ, Script.*, xxxii., 1905-1908). Johannes de Komorowo at the beginning of the sixteenth century wrote *Tractatus cronice fratrum Minorum (Archiv f. oest. Gesch.*, xlix., 1872) and *Memoriale ord. fratrum minorum (Mon. Polon. Hist.*, v., 1888), dealing chiefly with the Observant Friars in Poland.

A good many chronicles and annals of a more general type written by Friars Minor naturally

contain much information on Franciscan history. Among these may be noted the Chronicle of Albert of Stade to 1256 (*Mon. Germ. Script.*, xvi.); the *Lanercost Chronicle* (ed. J. Stevenson, 1889), written in part by Friar Richard of Durham (cf. *E.H.R.*, xxxi., 269); the chronicle of the Minorite of Erfurt towards the end of the thirteenth century (*Mon. Germ. Script.*, xxiv., 172); the *Annales Gandenses*, written between 1808 and 1837 (ed. Lappenberg, *Mon. Germ. Script.*, xvi., 555-597; and Funck-Brentano, *Collection de Textes pour servir à l'étude . . . de l'histoire*, fasc. xviii., 1896); the *Historia Satyrica* of Paulinus of Venice, Bishop of Pozzuoli, of which extracts are printed in Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.*, iv., 951 *seq.* under the title of Jordanus;¹ Clyn's *Annales Hibern.* (*Irish Archæol. Soc.*, 1849); John of Winterthur's Chronicle to 1848 (ed. Wyss in *Archiv f. Schweiz. Gesch.*, xi., 1856); and others.

A list of recent histories of the Order and of provinces may be useful. Holzapfel's *Handbuch d. Gesch. d. Franziskanerordens* (Freiburg-i-B., 1909), written by command of the General Minister, provides an excellent general sketch. Histories of Provinces strictly so called are: Eubel, *Gesch.*

¹ See Golubovich, ii., 74-102. There is no complete edition either of the *Satyrica* or the *Chronologia Magna* of Paulinus.

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d. oberdeutschen (Strassburger) Minoriten-Provinz (Würzburg, 1886), and *Gesch. d. Kölnischen Minoriten-Ordensprovinz* (Köln, 1906); Schlager, *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Kölnischen Franziskaner-Ordensprovinz im Mittelalter* (Köln, 1904); Othon de Pavie, *L'Aquitaine Séraphique* (Auch, 1900); etc. Minges, *Gesch. d. Franziskaner in Bayern* (Munich, 1906), and Moir Bryce, *The Scottish Grey Friars* (Edinburgh, 1909) deal with geographical areas which are not, strictly speaking, provinces. The British Society of Franciscan Studies is about to issue a volume of "materials for the history of the Franciscan province of Ireland, 1280-1450."

V.—CONTROVERSIAL WRITINGS

Two¹ classes of controversial writings bearing on the history of the Order are to be distinguished: according as they are concerned—(a) with the controversies between the Mendicant Orders and the secular clergy; (b) with controversies within the Franciscan Order about the interpretation of the Rule and the observance of poverty.² Both were complicated by the adhesion of a powerful section of the Franciscans to the doctrines of Joachim of Flora and the inferences drawn from them.³

¹ A third class of controversies may be mentioned—those concerning disputes between the Mendicant Orders, especially the Dominicans and Franciscans; see, e.g., the controversy at Oxford, 1269, printed in *Grey Friars in Oxford* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), pp. 320–335, and Pecham's treatise against Kilwardby, ed. Tocco, in *Br. Soc. Fr. Studies*, ii., 91–147. (Kilwardby's treatise has not been discovered.) Cf. also Bonaventura, "De Sandaliis Apostolorum," *Op. Om.*, viii., 886. The disputes between the two Orders were largely philosophical and theological—e.g., about the Immaculate Conception.

² Cf. Balthasar, *Geschichte d. Armutsstreites im Franziskanerorden b. z. Konzil v. Vienne* (Münster-i.-W., 1911).

³ See Gebhart, *Italie mystique* (Paris, 1890); Fournier, *Études sur Joachim de Flore et ses doctrines* (Paris, 1909); Tocco, *L'Eresia nel medio evo* (Florence, 1884); Denifle, *A.L.K.G.*, i., 90–142; Gardner, "Jochim of Flora," in *Franciscan Essays* (Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies, 1912).

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(a) The chief protagonists of the secular clergy were William of St. Amour (c. 1254), Richard Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh (c. 1357); and, to a certain extent, Wiclif.

The principal Franciscan writings against William of St. Amour and his followers were Bonaventura's "Quæstio disputata de paupertate" (*Op. omnia*, ed. Quaracchi, vol. v.), and "Apologia Pauperum" and "Quare fratres minores prædicent," etc. (*ib.*, vol. viii.); Pecham's *Tractatus Pauperis* (Br. Soc. Fr. Studies, ii.); and an anonymous treatise beginning "Manus quæ contra omnipotentem" which has not yet been published. The chief opponent of Fitzralph was Roger Conway; the opponents of Wiclif were William Woodford and John Tyssington; on these and their works see *Grey Friars in Oxford* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.).

(b) The interpretation of the Rule and the demand for modifications in it produced a series of papal declarations by Gregory IX., Innocent IV., Nicholas III., Clement V., John XXII., Martin V., and a number of commentaries by Minorites representing conflicting views. The earliest of the latter is that by the Four Masters about 1242, which supports in the main the strict observance; the only edition of this work so far is in *Firmamenta trium Ordinum* (Venice, 1518), pt. iv. Hugo de

Digne, in his "Expositio Regulæ" printed in the same work, adopts a similar standpoint. **Bonaventura** in his "Expositio Regulæ" and "de tribus quæstionibus" (*Op. Om.*, viii.) and **Pecham** in his "Expositio Regulæ" in *Tractatus Pauperis* represent a less rigorous attitude, and still more is this the case with **David of Augsburg** (*Firm. Trium Ord.*). The *Expositio Regulæ* of **Angelo of Clarenò**, written about 1322 (ed. **Livarius Oligier**; **Quaracchi**, 1912), is valuable, not only as giving the views of the Spiritual Friars, but as containing extracts from the writings of **Brother Leo** and other early sources.

After the moderating influence of **Bonaventura** was removed (1274) the cleavage in the Order became more accentuated, and the quarrel between the Community and the Spiritual Friars or **Zelanti** more acrid. Under the influence of their intellectual leader, the **Joachite**, **Peter John Olivi**, and under the pressure of persecution, the **Zelanti** became more isolated from the Community and divorced from the fruitful activities which it combined with a laxer interpretation of the Rule and a less rigid observance of poverty; they tended to withdraw to hermitages, and to become to some extent a sect of contemplative fanatics. (On **Olivi's** life and writings see **Ehrle** in *A.L.K.G.*, iii., 409 seq.; cf. *A.F.H.*, i., 617.)

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The attitude of the Spiritual Friars at the beginning of the fourteenth century is illustrated by the *Arbor Vitæ Crucifixæ Jesu* of Ubertino of Casale (Venice, 1486), written in 1305. It is a confused and confusing book—mystic, dogmatic, ascetic: Joachimite influence is strong throughout. It contains some passages of beauty and poetic power, but shows a narrow and embittered spirit, abounding in invectives against the “carnal Church” and its rulers and against the degenerate Community of Franciscans. Of greater historical value are the letters of Angelo of Clareno (*A.L.K.G.*, i., 515–569) and his *Chronica Septem Tribulationum*, written about 1380. A complete edition of the latter is being prepared by the Fathers of Quaracchi: hitherto only fragments have been published—by Ehrle in *A.L.K.G.*, ii., 125–155, 256–327; by Döllinger in *Beiträge z. Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters*, ii. (Munich, 1890); and by Tocco, *Le due prime Tribolazioni dell' Ordine Franciscano* (Rome, 1908). It is a controversial history from the Spiritual standpoint and might be included under the heading “Chronicles.” It preserves important matter and primitive traditions. Though the work is “tendencious,” the quotations from early authorities do not appear to be garbled or invented. In their heroic devotion to the ideal of evangelical

poverty and the Spiritual Church of the future, Angelo and his followers were driven to refuse obedience to their superiors and to the carnal Church of the present. The story of the "Fratricelli" and their persecution may be studied in Ehrle's articles in *A.L.K.G.*; Tocco, *Studii Francescani*, i.; and Livarius Oliger, "Documenta Inedita ad Historiam Fratricellorum," *A.F.H.*, iii.-vi. Finke's *Acta Aragonensia*, 1291-1827 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1908), is also important in connection with the Spiritual Friars. The *Chronicon de Gestis contra Fratricellos auctore Joanne Minorita* (Baluze, *Miscell.*, iii., 206-358) is a collection of documents relating to the quarrels between the friars and John XXII.

Meanwhile another crisis in the controversy on poverty followed from two bulls of John XXII. in 1322 and 1323. The first, *Ad conditorem*, withdrew from the Minorites the privilege of holding property in the name of the Roman Church; the second, *Cum inter nonnullos*, pronounced it heresy to maintain that Christ and His Apostles had no property individually or in common. It was now the turn of the Community of the Order to rebel against ecclesiastical authority. The majority in course of time submitted, but among the rebels were the General Minister Michael of Cesena and

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William of Ockham. Ockham's political writings took their origin from the controversy on poverty. The account of him and his works in *Grey Friars in Oxford* should be corrected and supplemented by reference to Hofer's "Biographische Studien über W. von Ockham" (*A.F.H.*, vi., 209-233, 439-465, 654-669); Knotte, *Untersuchungen z. Chronologie v. Schriften d. Minoriten am Hofe Kaiser Ludwigs des Bayern* (Bonn, 1908); Scholz, *Unbekannte Kirchenpolitische Streitschriften aus d. Zeit Ludwigs d. Bayern* (1911, 1914); Livarius Oliger, "De Dialogo contra Fraticellos" (*A.F.H.*, iv., 1-23).

VI.—MISSIONS AND TRAVELS

THE Rule of 1223 devotes a special chapter to "those who go among the Saracens and other infidels," and Francis and many of the early friars went to the East inspired both by the hope of martyrdom and of making converts. The story of the first martyrs of the Order, at Morocco, had a profound influence: one of the accounts of it, which seems to have been specially popular in England (see Eccleston, pp. xi., xiv.), is printed in K. Müller's *Anfänge d. Minoriten Ordens*, 207, another in *Anal. Franc.*, iii., 579. The history of the Missions is given in Marcellino da Civezza's *Storia Universale delle Missioni Francescane* (Rome, 1857; 5 vols.), and in Golubovich's *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell' Oriente Francese* (vols. i. and ii.; Quaracchi, 1906, 1913). This last is a chronological collection of references, notes and extracts from sources (many printed for the first time) relating to the missionary activities of the Order; vol. i. deals with the thirteenth century, vol. ii. with the first half of the fourteenth and additional matter on the thirteenth. The

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work is to be continued and is invaluable; it is a collection of materials for a history, not a history, and the proper use of it requires some patience.

Two incidental outcomes of the missionary work of the friars may be mentioned: the first is the impulse given by it to the study of Oriental languages, with which the names of Roger Bacon and Raymund Lull are specially connected. References will be found in Golubovich; for Roger Bacon see also *Roger Bacon Commemoration Essays* (ed. Little; Oxford, 1914). The second is the impulse given to the study of geography and the history and customs of Eastern countries. Among the itineraries written by Franciscan travellers may be mentioned:

John de Piano Carpinis, *Liber de factis Tartarorum* (or *Mongolorum*), ed. Hakluyt, i., 21-37 (London, 1598); and ed. D'Avezac, *Recueil de Voyages . . . publié par la Soc. de Géographie*, iv. (Paris, 1839). Cf. Golubovich, i., § 55.

William of Rubruk: "Itinerarium anno 1253 ad partes Orientales" (*Recueil de Voyages*, iv.).

John of Montecorvino, Archbishop of Pekin, *Letters from the East*, references in Golubovich, § 88.

Simon Simeonis, *Itinerarium in Terram Sanctam* (ed. Nasmith, 1778); cf. Esposito in *Geogr. Journal*, vols. 50, 51.

Odoric de Pordenone, *Descriptio de partibus infidelium* (ed. Marcellino de Civezza, *Storia Universale*, iii., 741; Cordier, *Les Voyages du Frère Odoric de Pordenone*, *Recueil des Voyages*, x. (Paris, 1891).

On all these see Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither* (Hakluyt Soc., 1866), and Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*.

VII.—SERMONS AND BOOKS OF EXEMPLA

THE formal *Sermones ad clerum*, and even many of those addressed to various classes of men, are generally too vague and conventional, too much occupied with allegorical interpretations of Scripture to supply much historical information or any means of estimating the characteristics of the preacher. Friar Guibert de Tournay (c. 1261) issued a collection of sermons *Ad diversa statuum et officiorum genera*, including sermons to citizens organized in communes, school children, etc., which, in spite of their alluring titles, are very indefinite and excessively dry; a modern cannot fail to sympathize with the copyist of one of the MSS. of this collection, who ends his work with the request: "Date vinum scriptori." There are, however, sometimes, especially at the end of such sermons, allusions to contemporary events; e.g., Bonaventura's sermons contain references to the troubles at the University of Paris. It might be worth while to compile an English equivalent to Lecoy de la Marche's admirable study, *La Chaire*

Française. As a specimen of one of the sources which would be utilized in a book of this kind may be mentioned the reports of sermons preached at Oxford, c. 1290-1291, chiefly by Dominicans and Franciscans, preserved by John de Dombeltone, monk of Worcester, now in the Worcester Cathedral Library (MS. Q. 46). From this we learn among other things the names of several hitherto unknown Oxford friars, and can fix the dates of others; two sermons of Raymund Gaufredi, General Minister of the Franciscans, are included, and establish the fact and date of his visitation of the English province. A collection of sermons preached in various places in England c. 1480 by a Franciscan, Nicholas Philip, is in the Bodleian (MS. Lat. Theol. d. 1).

Popular sermons, especially those preserved in the vulgar tongue, give much light on social life, manners, and morals, and on the methods of the preachers. The most famous Franciscan collections are those of Berthold of Regensburg in the thirteenth century and those of Bernardino of Siena in the fifteenth. The German sermons of Berthold were edited by Pfeiffer and Strobl (2 vols.; Vienna, 1862, 1880), and a modern German version published by Göbel (4th edition, Regensburg, 1906). Cf. Coulton, "A Thirteenth-Century Re-

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vivalist," in *Medieval Studies* (1st ser., 2nd ed.), and Schönbach, *Die Ueberlieferung der Werke Bertholds von Regensburg* (Vienna, 1905, 1906, 1907); also A. Franz, *Drei Deutsche Minoritenprediger*—namely, Conrad of Saxony, Ludwig, and Greculus (Freiburg-i-B., 1907). The Italian sermons of Bernardino were edited by Luciano Banchi, *Le Prediche Volgari di S. Bernardino da Siena* (Siena, 1880–1888). For an admirable study of these see Ferrers Howell, *S. Bernardino of Siena* (Methuen, 1913), which also contains an excellent sketch of the rise of the Observant Friars. The French sermons of Olivier Maillard († 1502) were edited by A. de la Borderie (Nantes, 1877).

England is singularly deficient in Franciscan sermons in the vernacular, but prolific, on the other hand, in collections of exempla for the use of preachers. The earliest of these is the *Liber Exemplorum* of an English Franciscan in Ireland c. 1275, edited in Brit. Soc. Franc. Studies, vol. i. The *Speculum Laicorum* (ed. Welter; Paris, 1914) was compiled probably by a Franciscan c. 1280–1290. *Les Contes moralisés de Nicole Bozon frère Mineur*, in French, c. 1320, were edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith and Paul Meyer in 1889. Another collection still in MS., *Fasciculus Morum*, written probably between 1320 and 1330, is described in

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the present writer's *Studies in English Franciscan History* (Manchester, 1917). The famous *Gesta Romanorum* (ed. Oesterley; Berlin, 1872) was probably put together by a German friar c. 1840, but is based largely on English materials. Many MSS. of these and of other collections of exempla and moralized tales are described by Herbert in *Catalogue of Romances in the Dep. of MSS. in the British Museum*, vol. iii. (1910). The fullest and most illuminating study of exempla in general is that in Crane's edition of *Exempla of Jacques de Vitry* (Folklore Soc.; Nutt, 1890). Exempla are repeated over and over again, and before taking a story as typical of English Society in the fourteenth century, one has to investigate its origin and make sure, *e.g.*, that it is not taken from the *Vitæ Patrum*.

In this section reference may be made to the numerous treatises for the use and instruction of preachers issued by Franciscans in the Middle Ages. A series of these manuals by Friar John of Wales, which enjoyed a great vogue for over two centuries, is described in *Studies in English Franciscan History*.

VIII.—LEARNING

IN spite of St. Francis' opposition to learning, the Franciscans soon became, like the Dominicans, a "Student Order." Bonaventura recognized and boldly defended the development: "I confess before God that what chiefly made me love the life of St. Francis is its similarity to the beginning and the development of the Church, which first began from simple fishermen and afterwards grew to include the most famous and accomplished teachers; you will see the same in the Order of St. Francis" (*Op. om.*, viii., 886). In theory learning was devoted to preaching and the salvation of souls, but it was impossible to limit it: in Roger Bacon's words, "The study of theology demands the whole of human wisdom."

Wadding's *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*, with Sbaralea's *Supplementum*, retains its value but needs revising: the new edition published by Nardecchia (Rome, 1906) remains unfinished and is unfortunately little more than a reprint. The early history of the movement should be studied

in Hilarin Felder's scholarly *Geschichte der Wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franziskanerorden bis um die Mitte des 13 Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg-i-B., 1904), which has been translated into French (Hilarin de Lucerne, *Hist. des Études*, etc., Picard; Paris, 1908), but not into English. A list of Roger Bacon's writings, printed and in MS., is given in *Roger Bacon Commemoration Essays* (Oxford, 1914). Other works dealing with the subject (besides those on scholastic philosophy in general) are Denifle's *Chartularium Univ. Paris.*, *The Grey Friars in Oxford* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), and *Studies in English Franciscan History*. The history of the Grey Friars in Cambridge remains to be written.

Attention may be drawn to the unpublished catalogues of learned friars—"Qualiter fratres Minores fuerunt grammatici, logici, philosophi naturales, perspectivi, philosophi morales et metaphysici, legistæ civiles, juristæ canonici, theologi practici, theologi positivi sive in scholis informativi, theologi speculativi"—in Bodl. MS. Canon. 525 (see *Description*, in *Opuscles de critique hist.*, v.), which should be compared with the list in Barth. of Pisa, "De Conform.," *Anal. Franc.*, iv., 386 seq.

IX.—ART AND POETRY

THE two classical works on these subjects are Thode's *Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien* (Berlin, 1885; new and revised edition, 1904) and Ozanam's *Les Poètes franciscains en Italie au 13^e Siècle* (1852; 6th edition, 1882).

1. Among many books on Franciscan influence in art deserving of notice are Miss Salter's *Franciscan Legends in Italian Art* (Dent, 1905); Berenson's *A Sienese Painter of the Franciscan Legend*, i.e., Sassetta (Dent, 1909); and Louis Gillet's lectures on *Hist. Artistique des Ordres Mendicants* (Paris, 1912). Of more general interest are Mâle's fascinating books, *L'Art religieux du xiii. siècle en France* (Leroux; Paris, 1898; translated by D. Nussey; Dent, 1913) and *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France* (Collin; Paris, 1908).

The subject of Franciscan art is a very wide one, and students would be well advised to concentrate their researches on some particular branch; e.g. :

(a) Representations in art of St. Francis or any particular member of the Order. Even St. Francis is not quite exhausted; an early thirteenth-century fresco of the Saint was recently uncovered in the Church of SS. John and Paul at Spoleto. The subject of St. Louis of Toulouse in art is treated in *A.F.H.*, ii., 197; that of St. Bernardino in Howell Ferrers' *St. Bernardino of Siena*.

(b) The architecture and arrangement of Franciscan Churches and houses, or any special features of them in any country. As an example Biebrach's dissertation, *Die holzgedeckten Franziskaner-und Dominikanerkirchen in Umbrien u. Toskana* (Berlin, 1908), may be instanced. The remains in England are scanty, but Ireland offers a good field.

(c) The work of Franciscan artists in some specified line, period, or country. Thus the mosaics of Fr. Jacobus "musivarius" (not to be confused with the later Jacobus Turrata) form the subject of Davidsohn's "Das älteste Werk der Franziskanerkunst" (*Repert. f. kunstwissenschaft*, 1899). One of the earliest extant works of Franciscan artists is the beautiful drawing of the Apocalyptic Christ, by Fr. William of England, reproduced and described in *Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies, Collect. Franc. I*. Franciscan miniaturists might

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be a fruitful subject. A few notes on some of these are put together in *A.F.H.*, i., 471.

The editors of the *A.F.H.*, *La France Franciscaine*, and the Brit. Soc. of Franciscan Studies have all advanced more or less vague schemes for collecting and co-ordinating materials on the history of Franciscan art. All these schemes have been interrupted by the war, but may perhaps be resumed. Among miscellaneous finds in England—all in rather unexpected places—may be mentioned the thirteenth-century picture of St. Francis at Christ Church, Oxford (reproduced in Fr. Cuthbert's *St. Francis*), the representations of the Stigmata in the screen at Bradninch Church, Devon, and of St. Francis and St. Clare in a reredos at Romsey Abbey.

2. Latin poems of the Friars Minor are largely liturgical, the most famous being the "Dies Iræ," probably by Celano and certainly early Franciscan, and the "Stabat Mater Dolorosa" of Jacopone da Todi. The rhymed offices by Celano, Julian of Speyer, and Pecham are also well known. Pecham's Latin poems also include the "Philomela" (Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica*, vol. 50, p. 602) and "Disputatio Mundi et Religionis" (Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies, ii.). Brother Pacifico—"rex versuum"—probably wrote in the vernacular, but none of his poems

have been discovered, nor is his name before he entered the Order known. The greatest Franciscan poet was Jacopone da Todi († 1306), the ardent and persecuted spiritual. His poems were printed in 1490¹ and again in 1558; no critical edition of his collected poems seems to have been published in modern times, though much preliminary work has been done. A book on him by Evelyn Underhill is announced,² with a selection of his writings. Meanwhile, attention may be drawn to the article on Jacopone in Miss A. Macdonnell's charming, if not always accurate, *Sons of Francis* (1902).

Among Franciscan poets who wrote in English, Thomas of Hales (c. 1250) deserves the first place; the only poem which can certainly be ascribed to him is the well-known "Luce Ron," printed in Morris's *Old English Miscellany* (E.E.T.S.) and elsewhere. The poetical works of James Ryman, Friar Minor, c. 1450, are printed in Herrig's *Archiv*, vol. 89, p. 167-338, and do not seem to have much merit. Perhaps the most important poetical work of the English Franciscans was done in connection with the miracle plays, York Plays, Chester Plays, etc. (E.E.T.S.). The friars' influence on the drama is, however, still obscure,³

¹ Reprinted by Soc. Filologica Romana, 1910. ² Dent, 1919

³ Cf. A. W. Pollard, *English Miracle Plays* (Oxford, 1914).

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and students may be warned against a curious mistranslation which appears in accounts of the friars in this connection: Drake, *Eboracum*, App. 29, turned Fr. William of Melton, "sacre pagine professor" (or D.D.), into "professor of sacred pageantry," and this error is repeated by the editor of *Monumenta Franciscana*, ii., p. xxviii., by Capes, *Hist. of the Engl. Church*, 373, and elsewhere. The collection of poems known as the Kildare Poems, formed and in part certainly written by Anglo-Irish friars in south-east Ireland c. 1800, has considerable merit (re-edited by Heuser, *Die Kildare Gedichte*; Bonn, 1904); the Welsh poet Friar Madawc ap Gwallter was probably a Franciscan (see Stephens, *Lit. of Kymry*); and in Scotland William Dunbar was in his early life an Observantine Friar.

X.—ST. CLARE AND HER ORDER

THE Life of St. Clare, generally and probably rightly attributed to Celano, has been edited in *Acta Sanctorum*, Aug., tom. ii., and recently by Penacchi (Assisi, 1910); a translation with valuable notes by Fr. Paschal Robinson appeared in 1910 (Philadelphia). The legend was certainly written within a few years of her canonization (1255), but is disappointing and conventional. The best modern life of St. Clare is probably that by Gilliat Smith *St. Clare of Assisi: Her Life and Legislation* (Dent, 1914), though one need not accept all his points of view.

The history of the various Rules of the Order is a complicated one ; six Rules have to be considered:

(1) The Formula Vitæ given by St. Francis c. 1212; this no longer exists, but part of it was inserted in the Rule of St. Clare, 1258; the essence of it was poverty.

(2) The Rule of Cardinal Ugolino (Gregory IX.), 1218–1219, inserted in bulls of 1239 and 1245

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(*Bull. Franc.*, i., 268, 394); this placed the new Order under the Benedictine Rule and did not command the observance of Franciscan poverty. How far the Clares accepted it is a disputed point. It was modified for San Damiano by the "Privilegium paupertatis" in 1228 (*Bull. Franc.*, i., 771).

(3) The Rule of Innocent IV., 1247 (*Bull. Franc.*, i., 488), which allows the acquisition and holding of property through a procurator.

(4) The Rule of St. Clare, 1258, modelled on the Franciscan Rule of 1223, and making the Order subject to the General Minister of the Friars Minor (*Bull. Franc., Supplem.*, 251; *Seraphicæ Legislationis Textus Originales*, Quaracchi, 1897, p. 49, etc.: translation in Paschal Robinson's *Life of St. Clare*).

(5) The Rule of B. Isabella, sister of Louis IX. of France, 1268 (*Bull. Franc.*, ii., 477).

(6) Rule of Urban IV., 1268 (*ib.*, ii., 509, *Supplem.*, p. 276). This is a revised edition of the Rule of 1247, which Clare resisted.

The question of the Rules is discussed by Livarius Oliger (*A.F.H.*, v.), who refers to the extensive literature on the subject, and by Seton in his edition of the "Rewle of Sustris Minouresses enclosid" (*Two Fifteenth-Century Franciscan Rules*, E.E.T.S., 1914). The latter is a version of the

Isabella Rule, which seems to have been followed by the Clares in England, except the early Clares, who left few traces of their short existence in this country. Different Rules held good in different groups of monasteries, the most widely prevalent being the Urbanist Rule. All the monasteries were strictly enclosed and endowed; even San Damiano, soon after St. Clare's death, began to acquire property. The relation of the Clares to the Minorite Order was a matter of frequent dispute and conflicting decisions; on this see *A.F.H.*, iii., 664-679, iv., 74-94.

An important contribution to the early history of the Order is Seton's *Some New Sources for the Life of Blessed Agnes of Bohemia* (Brit. Soc. Fr. St., vii.).

A sketch of the general history of the Order, especially in Germany, is given in Wauer's *Entstehung u. Ausbreitung des Klarissenordens* (Leipzig, 1906). Apart from Dugdale and some local histories (e.g., Clay, *Hist. of Waterbeach*, Camb. Antiq. Soc., 1859) the story of the Clares in England has not been written.

XI.—THIRD ORDER

THE earliest form of the Rule of the Third Order is that edited by Sabatier in *Opusculs de crit. hist.*, fasc. 1, and re-edited from a better text by Lemmens, *A.F.H.*, vi., 242. This dates from about 1228 and probably includes the Rule drawn up by St. Francis and Cardinal Ugolino in 1221. The subject of *Les Règles et le Gouvernement de l'Ordo de Pœnitentia au xiii^e siècle* is acutely treated by Mandonnet, *ibid.*, fasc. iv. His theory, advanced in "Les Origines de l'Ordo de Pœnitentia,"¹ that the three orders grew by separation from a common stock, not by accretions to the First Order, has been much criticized. The definitive Rule is contained in the bull *Supra Montem* of Nicholas IV., 1289.

Many bulls relating to the Third Order will be found in the *Bull. Franc.* and Wadding, and much material has recently been brought to light.²

¹ *Compte Rendu du IV^e Congrès Scientifique international des Catholiques* (Fribourg, 1898), pp. 183-215.

² F. Bordoni, *Chronologium tertii ordinis S. Francisci* (Parma, 1658), is still of value but is a rare book.

Among the most interesting are the following, taken from *A.F.H.*: i., p. 544-568, Statutes of the Congregation of Brescia, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which shows the congregation as a religious guild; ii., 62-71, acts and statutes of the General Chapter of the Third Order held at Bologna, 1289, relating to twenty-four "Provinces" (or congregations) of Italy; iv., 718-781, "Statuts des religieuses du Tiers Ordre Franciscain dites Sœurs Grises Hospitalières," 1488, mostly in Flanders; vii., 227-233, lists of members of the Third Order in Bologna, 1252 and other years; viii., 23-55, documents relating to the Third Order at Imola, 1266-1450; ix., 118-133, "Analecta de Tertio Ordine." The statutes of the Tertiaries of Aachen in 1334 were edited by Quix in *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Stadt Aachen*, 1844. Allmang's *Gesch. d. ehemaligen Regulartertiarierklosters St. Nicolaus (bei Schloss Dyck Grevenbroich, Rheinland)*, 1400-1911 (Essen-Ruhr, 1911), illustrates the change from congregations of "brethren and sisters living in their own houses" to groups living in communities (with endowments) under regular discipline and often in close connection with the Observant Friars. A contribution to the history of the Tertiaries in England has been made by Seton in his edition of an English version of the

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Rule (E.E.T.S., 1914). Among unpublished documents those relating to the Tertiary sisters of St. Onuphrius in Florence (MS. Bodl. Can. Misc., 847) may be cited.

The Third Order was a loose and elastic organization and developed varying features in different countries; there is, *e.g.*, some evidence that in Ireland its activity was largely educational. A useful preliminary to the serious study of its history would be the collection of the scattered notices relating to it.

From the references in the foregoing pages it will be obvious how essential to students of Franciscan history is the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, now in its twelfth year; address: Rev. P. Director, "Archivi Franciscani Historici," Quaracchi presso Firenze, Italy; annual subscription outside Italy, 20 francs. The British Society of Franciscan Studies has, since its reorganization, issued nine volumes to its members and possesses a small but select library, including the *A.F.H.*; address: Paul Descours, Secretary, B.S.F.S., 65, Deauville Road, Clapham S.W.; annual subscription, 10s. 6d.

SOME ABBREVIATIONS USED

A.F.H. = *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*
(Quaracchi).

A.L.K.G. = *Archiv für Litteratur-und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, ed. Denifle and Ehrle.

Anal. Boll. = *Analecta Bollandiana*.

Anal. Franc. = *Analecta Franciscana* (Quaracchi).

Br. Soc. Fr. St. = British Society of Franciscan
Studies.

Bull. Franc. = *Bullarium Franciscanum*.

E.E.T.S. = *Early English Text Society*.

E.H.R. = *English Historical Review*.

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